THE WORK
AND
INFLUENCE OF HAMPTON

PROCEEDINGS OF A MEETING HELD IN NEW YORK CITY
FEBRUARY 12, 1904, UNDER THE
DIRECTION OF

THE ARMSTRONG ASSOCIATION

WITH THE ADDRESSES OF

MR. ANDREW CARNEGIE, Chairman
PRESIDENT CHARLES W. ELIOT
DR. H. B. FRISSELL and
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THE PROCEEDINGS of a meeting, held under the direction of the Armstrong Association, at the Madison Square Garden Concert Hall, New York, on the evening of Lincoln Day, February 12, 1904, for the discussion of the work of the Hampton Institute and the bearing of industrial education on race problems at the South.

The meeting was opened by Mr. William Jay Schieffelin, President of the Armstrong Association, who read the following letter from ex-President Cleveland:

PRINCETON, February 8, 1904.

"MY DEAR SIR—I am sorry I must forego the gratification of attending the meeting to be held on the 12th instant for the promotion of the purposes of Southern educational work.

"I am so completely convinced of the importance of this cause, as it is related to the solution of a problem which no patriotic citizen should neglect, that I look upon every attempt to stimulate popular interest and activity in its behalf as a duty of citizenship.

"All our people and every section of our country are deeply concerned in the better equipment of our negro population for self support and usefulness. There should be a general agreement as to the necessity of their improvement in this direction; and all good men should contribute, in the manner best suited to their several circumstances, to the accomplishment of this beneficent result.

"Different sections of our country are affected in differing degrees and with greater or less directness; but it seems to me all must concede that no agencies can possibly do better service in the cause of negro amelioration than the institutions in which they are taught how to be self supporting and self respecting.

"Such institutions as these, which have demonstrated their efficiency, and which prove their merit by an exhibit of successful effort, should be constantly and generously encouraged and assisted. The extent to which this is done may well be accepted as a test of our sincerity in the cause of negro improvement.

Yours very truly, GROVER CLEVELAND."

Mr. Schieffelin then presented, as the chairman of the meeting, Mr. Andrew Carnegie, who spoke as follows:

ADDRESS OF MR. CARNEGIE.

Ladies and Gentlemen—We meet upon the birthday of the great emancipator, Abraham Lincoln, he who knocked the shackles from four millions of slaves and made them physically free under the law. But in the higher sense he only is a freeman whom education makes free. Lincoln did his part, but he only began the task. It remains for us, the followers of that leader of men, to continue and complete it. This brings us here tonight.

There is one class of men which experience is said to teach—the fools—but I suspect these are beyond teaching. Let us rather say that experience teaches the ignorant. I suggest this change because by experience I have been taught the Southern problem, and hesitate to class myself with the former. Every man and woman in the North who has not lived in the South, or visited it often for extended periods, must be ignorant of the South and the serious problems which confront our fellow citizens there, white and black. We have nothing like it in the North; neither has Britain nor any English speaking community under free institutions similar conditions with which to deal, because it is not only a question of less or more education, but of race. Before I had a vote I was an ardent Free Soiler, and a contributor in my 'teens to the New York Tribune, then our great Anti-Slavery organ. After the war my brother and his family made their winter home in the South, and during my numerous visits there I was brought face to face with the Southern problem, and became deeply impressed with its gravity, as any Northern man is who is brought face to face with it. It was an entirely new problem, which I had never thought of and never could have correctly imagined. Preconceived ideas of liberty and equality, ending in the sublime privilege of the suffrage, were rudely shaken, and I was forced to see that it was not enough to say that "a slave cannot live in the Republic; he breathes our air, his shackles fall." That necessary act performed, the task does not end; it only begins. We have de-

stroyed one bad system, but constructive work is needed. The shackles may be off, but the slave of yesterday cannot rise to the height of full citizenship next day. The prisoner from the dungeon, long confined in darkness, is blinded for a time by the light when released. Resolutions and party platforms, eloquent harangues upon liberty, equality and fraternity promote no healthy growth, produce no good fruit. Even legislation cannot reach the seat of the malady. The men who stand face to face with the Southern problem are soon convinced that the needed help, the uplifting element, the indispensable instructor, is to be sought in an entirely different direction. The cure is not political, but social. Now, ladies and gentlemen, here is a remarkable fact, for fact it is as far as my knowledge extends, which I ask you to note. There never was, so far as I know, an intelligent, worthy, kindly Northern man who settled in the South and became conversant with its conditions whose experience has not been mine as I have recounted it to you. Without exception, they change their views and deeply sympathize with their sorely tried white brethren of the South and see that only through cordial co-operation with them is the needed work of raising the negro to be successfully accomplished. We should ponder upon this, especially those of us in the North who have not known life in the South. I am persuaded that the Educational Conference presided over by Mr. Ogden, represented here by him and others; Tuskegee, represented by that remarkable leader of his people, Mr. Washington; Hampton, represented by the president, and others on the right path, and theirs the means through which the colored man is to be made capable of finally exercising the powers and performing the duties of a citizen of a free State with safety to the State. Many of you have read the wise paper of our distinguished fellow citizen of New York, Hon. Carl Schurz, present with us tonight, an essay full of wise counsel. He points out that our aim should be first to lift the colored man and make him worthy of citizenship, never denying him, however, that ideal which he should strive to attain finally—complete political equality.

Perhaps I can give you a just conception of the difference in the situation with us in the North and our white friends in the South. We safely extend the suffrage in this home of free

schools and universal education, and trust to education to make sober minded, intelligent citizens as the sure effect of knowledge. The number of new citizens given the suffrage who are not sufficiently informed is relatively small. Even if they vote unwisely they do not drown the voice of the intelligent. These are still in the majority and their views prevail. Good and safe government is not endangered.

In the South the ignorant are the immense majority. To give suffrage without restriction to the blacks would mean that the intelligent whites were powerless—overwhelmed. Government would be in the hands of men steeped in ignorance of political responsibilities to a degree impossible for Northern people to imagine. Only residence among them can give a true impression. No fault this of the colored people who were reared and held in slavery, or who at best are only emerging from that depth. The cheering fact is that they have shown and are showing more and more the capacity to rise in the scale. There cannot be any doubt about this; their rapid and increasing acquisition of property proves it beyond cavil.

Now, the wise policy seems obvious. We should agree that the keeping down of millions of people, even if successful, would be destructive to civilized society and a menace to the state. To treat them as if they had already risen would be equally so; therefore, an educational test for the suffrage should be adopted and strictly applied, applicable to white and black alike, for ignorance in the whites is deplorable. There is only one way to make satisfactory members of society, whether black or white, and that is through education in its widest sense.

So much for the dangerous and difficult problem of the South. To our white brothers and fellow citizens of the South we owe at least an equal duty, and especially to the ignorant. He is no true friend of the South or wise American who forgets this, and I hope we shall prove in the future that while we sympathize with the colored race we do not forget our white brothers. After all is said and done the improvement of the South, white and black, must be accomplished by the best educated white element in the South which is in sympathy with our views and seeks the steady though perhaps slow elevation of both races, not the continued degradation of either. I stand before you to-

night, side by side and hand in hand with our Southern brothers of our own race, feeling that it is through them we must labor if we are to solve the threatening problem which menaces the South. Fortunately the Educational Conference, Hampton and Tuskegee all recognize this and find a responsive white element in the South, with which they are in cordial alliance.

It is amazing to see now and then schemes for the expatriation of the colored race, as if such a transfer were possible, which it is not, and further, as if such a transfer were desirable, which it is not. We have a country with less than thirty people per square mile. England and Wales, Belgium and Holland, have over five hundred. We cannot produce cotton enough for the wants of the world. We should be in the position in which South Africa is today but for the faithful, placable, peaceful, industrious, lovable colored man; for industrious and peaceful he is compared with any other body of colored men on the earth —not up to the standard of the colder North in continuous effort, but far in advance of any corresponding class anywhere. South Africa has just had to admit contracted Chinese labor, although there are between five and six millions of colored people there who will not work. We should be in the same condition but for our colored people, who constitute one of the most valuable assets of the Republic, viewed from an economic standpoint. It is certain we must grow more cotton to meet the demands of the world, or endanger our practical monopoly of that indispensable article. Either the efforts of Europe will be successful to grow in other parts, even at greater cost for a time, or the world will learn to substitute something else for it. We cannot afford to lose the negro. We have urgent need of all and of more. Let us therefore turn our efforts to making the best of him. Signs are highly encouraging; individuals of the race who have risen and are today good citizens and worthy of the suffrage are easily found, and it is by the exceptional man every race is lifted. The race is improving and is capable of continued improvement, and the poor whites of our own race in the South, it goes without saying, are capable with proper education of what we ourselves have accomplished. We proclaim as our sole purpose the steady elevation of the ignorant of both white and black races in the South. That is the duty in behalf of which we meet tonight, with our hands

and hearts outstretched to our own race in the South, beseeching its wisest leaders to advise us how we can best co-operate with them under their guidance for the genuine advancement of that portion of our common country we love so well.

Mr. Carnegie—Ladies and gentlemen, I have now to introduce to you one whose voice is heard upon every vital question affecting our country; and there is one merit President Eliot possesses in the highest degree—there is never any doubt where he stands. Our universities are sometimes charged with neglect of attention to civic questions, but there are none in any other country whose presidents take such leading parts in public affairs and who are such leaders of the people. Among the foremost of these ranks he whom I beg to present, President Eliot, of Harvard, our oldest University:

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT ELIOT.

There is no larger or graver problem before civilized man at this moment than the prompt formation of a sound public opinion about the right treatment of backward races, and Hampton possesses the keywords of that great problem—education and productive labor. The support of Hampton Institute depends directly on public opinion concerning it among intelligent and public spirited people North and South. Let these people remain convinced that Hampton not only has been but is and will be an effective instrument for uplifting the two backward races it serves, and let this conviction be as firmly and broadly planted in the Southern mind as in the Northern, and the vigorous life of the Institute is assured.

I therefore ask your attention to some of the resemblances and some of the differences between opinion at the North and opinion at the South concerning the negro.

In the first place, Northern opinion and Southern opinion are identical with regard to keeping the two races pure—that is, without admixture of one with the other. The Northern whites hold this opinion quite as firmly as the Southern whites; and, inasmuch as the negroes hold the same view, this supposed danger of mutual racial impairment ought not to have much influence on practical measures. Admixture of the two races, so far as it proceeds, will be, as it has been, chiefly the result of sexual vice on the part of white men; it will not be a widespread evil; and it will not be advocated as a policy or method by anybody worthy of consideration. It should be borne in on the mind of the Southern whites that their Northern brethren are entirely at one with them in this matter, in spite of certain obvious differences of behavior toward the negro at the North and at the South.

Let us next consider some of these differences of practical behavior. At the North it is common for negro children to go to the public schools with white children, while at the South negro children are not admitted to white schools. This practice at the North may be justly described as socially insignificant, because the number of negro children is in most places very small in proportion to the number of white children. In Northern towns where negro children are proportionally numerous there is just the same tendency and desire to separate them from the whites that there is in the South. This separation may be effected by public regulations, but if not it will be effected by white parents procuring the transfer of their children to schools where negroes are few. The differences of practice in this matter at the North and at the South are the result of the different proportion of negroes to the white population in the two sections. Thus in the high schools and colleges of the North the proportion of negroes is always extremely small, so small that it may be neglected as a social influence. Put the prosperous Northern whites into the Southern States, in immediate contact with millions of negroes, and they would promptly establish separate schools for the colored population, whatever the necessary cost. Transfer the Southern whites to the North, where the negroes form but an insignificant fraction of the population, and in a generation or two they would not care whether there were a few negro children in the public schools or not, and would therefore avoid the expense of providing separate schools for the few colored children.

With regard to coming into personal contact with negroes, the adverse feeling of the Northern whites is stronger than that of the Southern whites, who are accustomed to such contacts; but, on account of the fewness of the negroes at the North, no separate provision is made for them in public conveyances and other places of public resort. It would be inconvenient and wasteful to provide separate conveyances; and, moreover, race is not the real determining consideration in regard to agreeableness of contact in a public conveyance or other public resort. Any clean and tidy person, of whatever race, is more welcome than any dirty person, be he white, black or yellow. Here again the proportion of the negro to the white population is a dominant consideration. On the whole, there is no essential difference between the feelings of the Northern whites and the Southern whites on this subject; but the uneducated Northern whites are less tolerant of the negro than the Southern whites. More trades and occupations are actually open to negroes in the Southern States than in the Northern.

I come next to a real difference between Northern opinion and Southern opinion—a difference the roots of which are rather hard to trace. At the North nobody connects political equality—that is, the possession of the ballot and eligibility to public office—with social equality; that is, free social intercourse on equal terms in the people's homes. At the South the white population seems to think unanimously that there is a close connection between the two questions following—shall a negro vote or be a letter carrier? and shall he sit with a white man at dinner or marry a white man's sister? At the North these two questions seem to have nothing whatever to do with each other. For generations the entire male population of a suitable age has possessed the ballot; but the possession of the ballot has never had anything to do with the social status of the individual voter. In the Northern cities, which generally contain a great variety of white nationalities, the social divisions are numerous and deep; and the mere practice of political equality gives no means whatever of passing from one social set to another supposed to be higher. The social sets are determined by like education, parity of income, and similarity of occupation, and not at all by the equality of every citizen before the law. Many an old New

England village and many a huge tenement house in a great city at the North illustrate the sharpness and fixity of social distinctions much more strongly than the newest fashionable quarter. The male villagers call each other John and Bill when they meet on the road or at town meeting; but their families hold themselves apart. In the tenement house families will live for years on the same staircase, and yet never exchange so much as a nod. In democratic society it is only birds of a feather that flock together; and true social mobility in a democracy is not preserved by the ballot, or by any theory of the equality of all men before the law, but by public education and by the precious freedom which enables the men and women who possess remarkable natural gifts of any sort to develop and utilize those gifts. This democratic mobility is an application of the general principle that human beings of the same sort, possessing the same desires and governed by the same motives, will seek each other out and associate in the pursuit of common objects, whether at work or at play. At the North, then, people do not in the least connect political equality with social equality of intercourse. In this respect the Northern people closely resemble the English and the nations of continental Europe that have introduced the ballot into their political structures. No European has ever associated the possession of the ballot with social equality. An Englishman would find such an idea utterly unintelligible. During the nineteenth century there have been successive extensions of the suffrage in England, but these extensions have not affected in the least the social classification of the English people. To the Northern mind there is something positively comical in the notion that a letter carrier, or a fourth class postmaster, or an alderman, changes his social status or his social prospects when he attains to his office. At the North this man remains in the social position to which his education, business training and social faculties entitle him. His fellow citizens may form a new opinion about him from the way he does his work, and from his bearing and manners; but if his social status is altered in any way it will be because his personal qualities give him a lift or a drop, and not because he holds an office by election or appointment. At the South, on the other hand, the possession of the ballot before the Civil War distinguished the poor white from

the black slave; and to hold public office was a highly valued mark of distinction among whites. Hence, the Southern whites are convinced that possession of the ballot and eligibility to public office, however humble, tend toward social equality between two races which ought not to be mixed; while nothing in the long experience of freedom among the Northern whites has ever suggested to them that there is any connection betwen social intercourse and political equality. The Southern white sees a race danger in eating at the same table with the negro; he sees in being either the host or the guest of a negro an act of race infidelity. The Northern white sees nothing of the kind. The race danger does not enter into his thoughts at all; he does not believe there is any such danger. To be the host or guest of a negro, a Mexican or a Japanese would be for him simply a matter of present pleasure, convenience or courtesy. It would never occur to him that such an act could possibly harm his own race. His pride of race does not permit him to entertain such an idea. This is a significant difference between Northern whites and Southern whites. Their sentiments on this subject are really unlike—so unlike that they do not understand each other. Yet their fundamental belief that the two races ought to live socially apart is precisely the same. The Southern sentiment on this subject ought to be provisionally respected as a social fact, although the Northern white's race feeling seems to be really much more robust than that of the Southern white's. The Northerner's is simply impregnable, like the self respect of a gentleman. If the Southerner when in the North could conform to Northern practice, and the Northerner when in the South to Southern practice, each without losing caste at home, an amiable *modus vivendi* would be secured.

Again, the Northern whites and the Southern do not entirely agree with regard to public education. Northern opinion is unanimous in favor of giving the whole Southern population—white and black alike—good opportunities for education in every grade, though in separate establishments. It seems to the Northern whites that if the Southern negroes are to constitute a separate community, separate, that is, with regard to church, school and all social life, that separate community will need not only industrious laborers and operatives, active clerks and good mechanics, but

also teachers, preachers, lawyers, physicians, engineers and indeed professional men of all sorts; and therefore that all grades of education should be made accessible to negro children and youth. On this subject three different opinions may be discerned among Southern whites. Some Southern whites, educated and uneducated, think that any education is an injury to the negro race, and that the negro should continue to multiply in the Southern States with access only to the lowest forms of labor, for which they maintain, as Plato did, that no education is necessary. Another section of the Southern whites holds that negro children should be educated, but only for manual occupations; that is, for farm work, household work and work in the fundamental trades, such as the carpenter's, mason's, and blacksmith's. This section approves of manual training and trade schools, but takes no interest in the higher education of the negro. Still a third section of the Southern whites recognizes the obvious fact that a separate negro community must be provided with negro professional men of good quality, else neither the physical nor the moral welfare of the negro population will be thoroughly provided for. At the North the higher education of the few young negroes who will reach that grade can be provided in the colleges and professional schools maintained for white youth, and is successfully given at this moment to a few negro youth. In the Southern States the higher education must be given in separate institutions, if at all. The Northern people hardly realize how heavy the educational burden on the Southern States really is, because, at the North, they are under no necessity of providing separate institutions of all grades for negroes in addition to those provided for the whites. The pecuniary burden of this separate provision on the relatively poor Southern States is enormous; it is heavy in the elementary schools, but in the higher grades of education it is heavier still in proportion to the numbers to be educated. The provision of a higher education for negroes is the logical consequence of the proposition that the black and white races should both be kept pure; and as I have said this proposition is accepted both at the North and at the South. The alternative view, that the negro needs no education, or is harmed by it, or that the race should only be offered the lower grades of education, is thoroughly inconsistent with the proposition that the two races

should be kept unmixed. Democratic society cannot possibly contemplate the permanent presence of millions of a race but recently delivered from slavery, breeding fast and left in ignorance, or even without guidance and incentives to intellectual and spiritual life. Such a suggestion flies in the face of all democratic thought about public justice, liberty, and even safety.

The Northern whites have precisely the same dread of an ignorant and corruptible suffrage that the Southern whites feel; for they have suffered and are now suffering from it. Millions of immigrants, who have had no practice in civil or religious liberty, have invaded the North, and negro suffrage there has often proved not only unintelligent but mercenary. Their remedy, however, for an ignorant suffrage is to abolish ignorance by patient, generous work on the children. As an aid in this long campaign they value an educational qualification for the suffrage. Moreover, the Northern people are having at home abundant illustration of the way crimes increase when portions of the population have emancipated themselves from accustomed restraints, but have not yet been provided with any new effective restraints either from within or from without. In this respect they are prepared to sympathize warmly with their Southern brethren, whose situation is even more difficult than their own. Both parts of the country are feeling acutely the same need—the need of a stronger arm for the law, of a permanent, large, pervasive police force, organized in military fashion and provided with all the best means for instantaneous communication between stations. The presence of a competent public force would tend to prevent those sudden gregarious panics which cause lawless barbarities.

In respect to the value of that peculiar form of education which Hampton Institute has so admirably illustrated—education through manual training and labor at trades and crafts—there is a striking agreement between Northern and Southern opinion. One of the most remarkable changes in public education in the Northern States during the past fifteen years has been the rapid introduction of just these features into urban school systems.

The Northern whites are beginning to sympathize strongly with their Southern brethren in respect to the peculiar burden which the action of the National Government in liberating the

negroes has imposed on them. They see that the educational problem at the South is much more difficult than it is at the North and calls for much greater public expenditure. They also perceive that the Southern States are less able than the Northern States to endure public expenditure for education. In spite of their ingrained preference for local control of education, and for local government in general—a preference which has preserved far too long ward government for schools and cities and district government in country towns—they are beginning to feel that the peculiar burden upon the Southern States caused by the separation between the black and the white races in the institutions of education should be borne in part by the National Government. They would like to see devised constitutional means of bringing exceptional aid from the National Treasury to the former slave States which have this exceptional burden to bear. They would like to see the negro schools of the South kept eight months of the year instead of four—at the expense of the nation. They would like to see separate colleges for agriculture and the mechanic arts provided throughout the South by the National Government. They would like to see the Southern universities enabled to maintain separate professional schools for colored men. They would like to see a way found for the National Government to spend as much money on solving the Southern negro problem as it has been spending for six years past on the Philippine problem. In short, they would like to see the National Government recognize its responsibility for many of the physical and moral difficulties which beset civilization in the Southern States and come to the aid of all the civilizing forces in those States. They know that efficient help could only be given through existing local agencies; and the only help they would wish the Government to give is help to meet the peculiar burdens those agencies now have to bear because of the expedient social separation between the two races which are to occupy together the fair Southern country. It was in the supreme interest of the whole nation that the Southern States were impoverished forty years ago by a four years' blockade and the destruction of their whole industrial system. It is fair that the nation should help to rebuild Southern prosperity in the very best way, namely, through education.

Finally, let us all remember that the task of making competent free men out of slaves is not the work of a day or a decade, but of many generations. How many Anglo-Saxon generations have gone to dust on the long road from serfdom to freedom! It is a task to be worked at by each successive generation with the eager energy of men who know that for them the night cometh in which no man can work, but with a patience like that of God who lives and rules forever.

Mr. Carnegie—We all know what a man the founder of Hampton was, General Armstrong, who was not only great, inspired in himself, but who inspired all who became intimately associated with him; among these his able, untiring colleague and now his worthy successor. Let me present to you Dr. Frissell, principal of Hampton:

ADDRESS OF DR. FRISSELL.

General Armstrong used to say that life would not be worth living if there were no negro and Indian problems. Those of us who have to do with these races believe that it is well for our great country that it has to think of something else than tariff laws and the gaining of wealth. My friends, this is a tremendous problem. The Southern people, white and black, are the burden bearers of this country. In the South is the great mass of ignorance. There, too, is the greatest poverty. The struggle that the South has had to make to support itself is tremendous. Then there is the fact that, in that section, two races of different color are living together, often suspicious of one another, in constant dread of one another. Certainly the race problem of our country does not lack in interest or importance. If we present the bright side to you it does not indicate that we do not know that there is a dark side or that we do not appreciate the gravity of the situation. The great problem before us is this: How are men differing in wealth, station, race, to learn to live together so as to be mutually helpful? How may the rich and poor, the employer and the employee, the white man and the black man, learn to serve instead of hating and hindering one another?

When my distinguished predecessor at Hampton went to the Virginia peninsula immediately after the war, he went as an agent of the Freedmen's Bureau to administer the affairs of the whites and the blacks. He was sent to help them to live together in freedom as they had formerly lived together in slavery. He approached his task with sincere sympathy and with faith in both races. He did not believe, as some of us at the North did, that we were to help the blacks to punish the Southern whites for their wickedness. He had been an officer in the Union Army and had come in battle to have a profound regard for the heroism of the Southern white man. He had been a colonel of colored troops, and had come to understand the capacity and bravery of the colored man under proper leadership. He had been brought up in the Sandwich Islands, where he had helped his father, as superintendent of public education, to work out the problem of how different races could live and work together. He had come to believe that two peoples, in order to live together successfully, must be mutually serviceable. Training for useful service, then, became the thought of his life and of the great school which he started at Hampton. Many were inclined to doubt whether the black man could be made to serve except by force. General Armstrong had a firm belief that he could learn to serve by love.

An old negro preacher once prayed this prayer: "Lord, make the unfit fit and the fitter more fitting." This was the thought of the Hampton School—to make the unfit fit for the life just ahead of them. How could they best be fitted to serve themselves, their people and their white neighbors? I should be glad to speak to you briefly of Hampton's methods and results. Down at the foundation of Hampton Institute lies the idea of labor. All education there has for its object the fitting of the student for work. The school is a large industrial village, with its workshops, its farms, its laboratories and its schoolrooms, where the young are taught how to live and labor. The charge that is brought against the black race more often than any other is that they are unreliable, that they do not take responsibility well. The Indian is universally accused of being lazy. It is of the first necessity, then, to teach negro and Indian boys and girls to do some work, to do it regularly, and to do it intelligently. This work, whether in the shop, in the kitchen, or on the farm, is made

the central point of the school's endeavor. The academic work becomes subsidiary. Our students must learn, as Mr. Washington has put it, "to do common things in an uncommon way." As soon as they enter Hampton, therefore, they take up some definite duty, and their studies centre in that. A large number of girls, when they first come to Hampton, go into the laundry. We consider this one of the most important educational departments of the Hampton School. The work of washing and mending clothes has been lifted out of stupid drudgery into a valuable educational process. The laundry work not only enables the girls to gain regular habits of labor, to earn their board and clothing while they are in school, and to be able to make an honest living wherever they go, but it is also distinctly educational. The work is so arranged that they pass from one problem to another as they would in the schoolroom. In the evening, after their work is done, they go to the laboratory and try experiments in making bluing and soap. They learn what makes water hard and how they can make it softer. With the help of the microscope they study woolen cloth under the action of hot and cold water, and learn how to wash it properly and the reasons for certain methods. They learn how cloth is made and are taught how to weave it. Then, when they go into their English class, they write and read about what they have seen and have done with their own hands. Their arithmetic, too, has to do with soap and bluing and gallons of water and pieces of clothing. This method of correlation applies also to our other industries. We are just putting up a new kitchen, and that will be a much more important classroom than any in our Academic Hall. When the spring days come the school garden will be filled with negro and Indian girls, each planting or cultivating her own plot of ground. Other girls will be found carrying on the dairy work, and still others caring for the chickens. Every boy and girl at Hampton is given some practical knowledge of agriculture. Every girl must be able before she graduates to make a dress for herself and to cook a good meal. Every boy must be able to work in wood and iron. In addition they receive a thorough knowledge of the rudiments of an English education, and a careful training in morals and manners. Perhaps more important than anything else is the spirit of kindness toward others that the Hampton student gains. "Can-

tankerousness is worse than heterodoxy," wrote General Armstrong. Neither students nor teachers are allowed to remain long unless they can work with others. Hate, racial or individual, is excluded.

Now, this kind of training produces three things. First, it develops character. The struggle toward self support, the regular hours of labor combined with study, the military drill, and the religious instruction unite to make strong characters of these men and women. In the second place, this training produces economic independence. No graduate of Hampton becomes a drag on the community to which he goes. With his knowledge of agriculture and the trades he becomes a self respecting and useful citizen. He is not only able to sustain himself, but also to help others to self support. Sixty-five per cent. of those who have learned trades at Hampton are practicing or teaching them. Eighty-seven per cent. of the school's living graduates are known to be profitably employed. Many are leaders in business enterprises; 35 per cent. are farmers, tradesmen, or part time farmers; and a very large number are teachers of industries. We have now in almost every State of the South industrial schools carried on by graduates of Hampton. At the head of Tuskegee is Mr. Washington, Hampton's most distinguished graduate. His brother, Mr. J. H. Washington, superintendent of his industries; Mr. Logan, his treasurer; his disciplinarian, his head farmer, and a large company of other Hampton men and women have aided in building up this remarkable institution. In the third place, the Hampton training has produced young men and women of reasonable intelligence. While the great mass of our returned students have gone into the country districts, the leading colored city public schools in the State of Virginia are today in the hands of Hampton's sons and daughters. Sixteen per cent. have entered the professions, and a number have been graduated with honor from the highest institutions in the land, demonstrating the ability of the race to meet the hardest intellectual tests.

I suppose most of you have read an article on "The Negro Woman" in a recent periodical. It told many sad truths about our sisters in black. It was kindly in spirit, but it showed little knowledge of the thousands and thousands of decent, pure negro

homes in the South. One of the most important facts about the present situation is the ignorance of the average Southern white man and woman in regard to the best class of negroes. The average Southern white man seldom visits a negro church, does not go into his schools, does not read his newspapers, and knows little of the clean Christian negro homes that are growing up all around him. He knew both the good and bad negro in slavery; now he knows mostly the bad. Perhaps you have seen that terrible book, "The Negro a Beast." As a Southern man said to me: "The worst thing about that book is that the man who wrote it believed what he wrote." Perhaps, as you have read that one-sided book, "The Leopard's Spots," you have thought that the mass of the negroes were hateful and bitter. They are not, as Southern men have often testified. There never was a kinder race. The great mass of them are making an earnest struggle out of the darkness into the light. When the Russian serfs were freed and education made compulsory the schoolhouses were burned down, and when an endeavor was made to compel them to go to school the homes of the nobles began to burn. Contrast with this the attitude of the negro toward education. Every negro school in the South is crowded today. Hampton refused last year six times as many applicants as could be accepted. I could tell you of hundreds of negro parents who are denying themselves the necessities of life in order to give their children an education. When you hear that the negroes are all bad and daily growing worse, will you remember that in spite of all their difficulties the negroes have accumulated property, since the war, amounting to nearly $300,000,000 in farms, houses and various business establishments; that they have themselves raised toward their own education more than $13,000,000; that they have accumulated in church property more than $40,000,000, and in school property $15,000,000. When you hear that they are hopelessly immoral and criminal, will you remember that this great country of ours set them free without making any adequate provision for their physical, moral or intellectual education?

But you need concrete examples to help you to understand the work of Hampton graduates and ex-students. I have asked to have placed in your seats a short story called "The Failure of

Cunningham." It is an account of a dull colored boy who was unable to make his way through the school, and was obliged to return to his home in the back country. It tells how one of his former teachers found him in a poor log schoolhouse and of the tremendous influence for good he exerted in his community. Will you take it home and read it? It will give you an idea of what hundreds of the dullest of Hampton's returned students have done. But let me give you a few illustrations of the service performed by more intelligent Hampton men and women. Last Monday I went to the home of two of our graduates on one of the side streets of Hampton. This couple have a comfortable frame house of six rooms, which they have paid for from their earnings. The husband has been a bookkeeper in the school treasurer's office since his graduation in 1885. The wife, who was a graduate of the previous year, went back to her home in Georgia and taught for a year in a country school, spending her Saturdays in going from house to house and showing the people how to make their homes comfortable, and her Sundays in instructing old and young out of God's Word. After a year of this work she returned to the town of Hampton and married the young man of whom I have spoken. Her home became, as do those of most of our graduates, a sort of social settlement. Every week on Thursday a company of girls who were out at service gathered to learn how to cook and sew. Her girls' club has grown from ten or twelve to over a hundred members, and her efforts to help the neighborhood in various ways have developed into real social settlement work. Her husband has built a clubhouse as a centre for this work on the lot adjoining his own, and here, three days in the week, gather large classes in plain sewing, hemstitching, shirtwaist making, basketry and cooking. A kindergarten class meets in a little upper room in her shed. A boys' club has been started, and in the summer there is a class in gardening. A song service is held every Sunday. In all these activities she is assisted by three other Hampton graduates, who give their services cheerfully. The head of the settlement keeps in touch with the white women who employ her girls, and assists in adjusting difficulties when they occur. She keeps her own house and cares for her three children, makes her own garden, and still finds time to help her neighbors make

theirs. The whole community is cleaner and better because this young woman lives there. Work similar to this is being done by scores of Hampton women in Virginia, the Carolinas, and the Black Belt of Alabama.

The work of the husband of our Hampton settlement worker is no less important than her own. Soon after his graduation several of the graduates of the school joined with the people of the town to form a colored building and loan association. The young man of whom I am speaking became the secretary and mainstay of the association. It commenced business in 1889 with twelve stockholders and eighteen shares of stock. It has grown until now it has 636 stockholders, owning 2,212 shares, and a paid-in stock of $105,000, of which the colored people alone own $75,000. More than $200,000 has been loaned to colored people of the vicinity; more than 350 pieces of property have been acquired and homes built through its aid; and it has long been regarded as one of the safest financial institutions in Hampton. It is difficult to estimate the influence of this one home of Hampton graduates.

When I first went to Hampton twenty-four years ago I went into an evening class called the "plucky class." It was composed of boys who had worked all day in the sawmill or on the farm. The teacher was a Hampton graduate—the distinguished speaker of this evening. Just what this one Hampton graduate has meant to this country, and the influence that he has had over his own race in teaching them kindness and patience and industry, can never be estimated. General Armstrong was right in saying that if Hampton had done nothing else than graduate Booker Washington it would have paid for itself. In Mr. Washington's class was a small, thick-lipped negro boy from a back county. He had come with no money, and was working his way through the school by his labor in our sawmill. After graduation he went back to his home and took a school. The little building was soon too small for the crowds that came to him. He determined to enlarge it. This he did himself with the help of his boys, who worked Saturdays on the land in order to raise the money. After he had succeeded in getting his own school in order he induced other Hampton boys and girls to come to his county as teachers. He built his own home and cultivated land. Almost all the

colored people in his county were renters. He helped them to buy land and build homes. The churches were improved. The migration from that county to Northern cities has been stopped. It is now more than five years since a negro has gone from that county to the penitentiary. Ninety per cent. of its negro farmers own and manage their land. The relations between the whites and blacks are of the best. Not only in his own county, but through all of tidewater Virginia has the influence of that man been felt. He has driven out the saloon from a number of counties, and has helped to increase landholding, so that in thirty-three counties of tidewater Virginia more than 70 per cent. of the negro farmers own and manage their land.

In my early days at Hampton I had a class of negro preachers. They used to come from all the country around, spend the week at Hampton and go back to their homes to preach on Sunday. I tried to teach them the doctrine of making the Kingdom of God come here in better, cleaner homes. One of them became inspired with the idea of being a sort of "shepherd of Kingdom Come" among his people. He had a little church one mile outside the city of Portsmouth in Virginia. Here he started a model negro settlement. He bought thirty acres of land, divided it into building lots, and commenced to sell to colored people working in Norfolk and Portsmouth. When the settlement began, $500 would have bought all the property owned by colored men there. They now own over 125 buildings, costing from $350 to $2,500 each. Over 300 colored people live there, and there has never been an arrest nor has there been a saloon in the town. The morals and the order of the place are as good as anywhere in the South. The Hampton student did become "the shepherd of Kingdom Come."

No other Hampton graduate, and perhaps no other Indian, has had more to do with the surveying and allotting of Indian lands than Thomas Wildcat Alford, an Absentee Shawnee, of Shawnee, Okla. Beginning his career after graduating from Hampton in 1882 as a Government teacher, Mr. Alford has acted successively as interpreter, surveyor, allotting agent, real estate agent and farmer, gradually becoming the most influential Indian among the Shawnees. Acting first as axeman in the surveyor's corps he soon rose to the position of compassman at $4 a day. He

acted as allotment surveyor for the Shawnees, Kickapoos and Sauk and Foxes, being also county surveyor for one year. In 1894 he was appointed chairman of the Absentee Shawnee Business Committee, which has charge of all negotiations concerning Indian lands. He is also secretary of the general council appointed to decide questions of importance to the Shawnees, and has several times visited Washington on business for his people. Mr. Alford is at present acting as clerk at the Shawnee agency and at the same time is cultivating a model farm, where he raises his own vegetables, fruits and meats. His neat frame house, his log kitchen, stable and sheds were built with his own hands. He has sent three sons to Hampton, one of whom was graduated last year.

One Sunday a colored boy at Hampton named Sheppard went with me to establish a mission station at a place called Slabtown, a little out from the school. He gained there, as he afterward said, his first idea of missionary work. After leaving Hampton he became a missionary of the Presbyterian Church, South, and was sent with a son of Judge Lapsley, a prominent Southern white man, to Luebo, a station 1,000 miles from the west coast of Africa, on a branch of the Congo. Both these missionaries became interested in the Bakuba, who lived 50 miles farther inland but often passed their doors carrying ivory and rubber to the traders. Although the king of these people had forbidden all foreigners, on pain of death, to visit his territory, these missionaries decided to go to them. Sheppard learned their language from the men who came to his door. The white missionary, Lapsley, died, but with much courage and tact Sheppard pushed his way into the Bakuba country. Because of his discoveries on that journey he was made a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society. Instead of being beheaded by the chief of the Bakuba, he was well received and given much power. He has built a large church where recently sixty converts were baptized on one Sabbath. A late number of *The Missionary* said of him: "He not only builds churches and preaches the gospel and beautifies the land with broad avenues and boulevards, but, like Luke, he is also the beloved physician. He is known, loved and reverenced by the natives far and wide." Still another Hampton student, who went as a missionary to Liberia, not only preaches but has a large coffee farm and has been practicing the blacksmith's trade which

he learned at Hampton. One of his last letters tells of having just completed the only iron bridge ever built in Liberia.

I have given you a very imperfect account of the results of Hampton's work. Not only has it sent out between 7,000 and 8,000 negro and Indian students into every part of the South and West, but it has influenced the education of the whole country. The Government Indian industrial schools have been directly modeled after Hampton, and largely through its influence industrial training is being introduced into all the schools of the South. The chairman of the board of education of one of our large Northern cities said in a public address that Hampton had done more to bring about the introduction of manual training into the schools of his city than any other influence. The West Indies, too, are being influenced by Hampton, not only through the students who are being sent back there, but by the delegations that are sent from the islands to study its methods. Former Hampton teachers have gone to General Armstrong's island home, and the most important school in Honolulu is in their care. More important than the direct is the indirect influence of Hampton. In an admirable article in a recent number of the *Atlantic Monthly* Dr. Washington shows how industrial education, as started by General Armstrong at Hampton, has had the result of bringing together not only the whites and blacks of the South, but the whites of the North and South in an endeavor to work out this great problem. The Southern and General Education Boards would hardly have been possible without it.

At the opening of the present school year there were over 1,200 negro and Indian boys and girls receiving instruction on the Hampton grounds—800 boarders and 400 day scholars. Five hundred student-teachers were gathered from every part of the South in attendance upon its summer school of six weeks. Our annual expenses are $180,000, about $100,000 of which is provided for by interest on the endowment fund, on one-third of the land scrip fund of the State of Virginia, the Slater Fund, the Morrill Act Fund, and an annual appropriation by Congress toward the support of 120 Indians. An appeal has to be made each year for $80,000 to meet the school's current expenses. One-eighth of this amount has been provided for the last two years by the generous chairman of this meeting, Mr. Carnegie. The remaining

$70,000, together with provision for the school's permanent improvements, is given in sums varying from $1 to $5,000. Several friends have given $1,000 a year for the last two years. Much of the time of the school's officers, which ought to be given to the institution itself, has now to be spent in raising the necessary funds. Since General Armstrong's death in 1893 the school's endowment has been increased from $360,000 to $1,200,000. It needs an endowment of $2,000,000. While it would still be obliged to appeal to the public, the strain of securing so large an amount each year would be removed. The increased cost of coal and provisions, together with the larger number of students, makes the present year an especially hard one. Seventy dollars pays the scholarship of a student for a single year. In a book called "Twenty-two Years' Work at Hampton" there are given hundreds of such stories as I have told you of Hampton's graduates. Mentioned in connection with these are the names of some of the best men and women of this country, who have made those lives possible. In General Armstrong's "Memoranda" is found this appeal: "Hampton must not go down. See to it, you who are true to the black and red children of the land, and to just ideas of education."

Mr. Carnegie—Now we come to the last speaker. What shall I say, or how introduce him to you? Fellow slave of Epictetus and destined to be as renowned in history. Starting where he did I know of no man living who has traveled so far onward and upward. Read his memorable book, "Up From Slavery," and behold him today the recognized Moses of his race, who is leading it up to a standard worthy of citizenship and the suffrage. Hereafter history is to tell of two Washingtons, one white, the other black, both Fathers of their people. It is with extreme pleasure I now present to you Booker Washington:

ADDRESS OF DR. WASHINGTON.

THE anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln and the presentation of the claims of the Hampton Institute furnish a fitting occasion to discuss the condition of my race.

Several persons holding high official position have recently said that it does not pay, from any point of view, to educate the Negro; and that all attempts at his education have so far failed to accomplish any good results. Except that these utterances come from official sources, they would have little claim to a place in a meeting of this character. But the Southern States, which out of their poverty are contributing rather liberally for the education of all the people, as well as individual and organized philanthropy throughout the country, have a right to know whether the Negro is responding to the efforts they have made to place him upon a higher plane of civilization.

It is not possible to improve the condition of any race until its mind is awakened and strengthened. Does the American Negro desire to improve his mind, and what has been the result of his efforts? Will it pay to invest further money in this direction? In partially answering this question, it is hardly fair to compare the progress of the American Negro with that of the American white man, who in some unexplained way got thousands of years ahead of the Negro in the arts and sciences of civilization. But to get at the real facts and the real capability of the black man, let us compare for a moment the American Negro with the Negro in Africa, or the black man with the black man. As was recently suggested by Mr. Carnegie, in South Africa alone there are 5,000,000 black people who have never been brought, through school or other agencies, into contact with a higher civilization, in a way to have their minds or their ambitions strengthened or awakened. As a result, the industries of South Africa languish and refuse to prosper for lack of labor. The native black man refuses to labor because he has been neglected. He has few wants and little ambition, and his crude and few wants may be satisfied by laboring one or two days out of the seven. In the southern part of the United States there are more than 8,000,000 of my race who, both by contact with the whites and by education in the home, in school, in

church, have had their minds awakened and strengthened—have thus had their wants increased and multiplied many times. Hence, instead of a people in idleness, we have in the South a people who are anxious to work because they want education for their children; they want land and houses, and churches, books and papers. In a word, they want the highest and best in our civilization. Looked at, then, from the most material and selfish point of view, it has paid to awaken the Negro's mind, and there should be no limit placed upon the development of that mind.

Does the American Negro take advantage of opportunities to secure education? Practically no schoolhouse has been opened for the Negro since the war that has not been filled. Often hungry and in rags, making sacrifices of which you little dream, the Negro youth has been determined to annihilate his mental darkness. With all his disadvantages the Negro, according to official records, has blotted out 55.5 per cent. of his illiteracy since he became a free man, while practically 95 per cent. of the native Africans are illiterate. After years of civilization and opportunity, in Spain, 68 per cent. of the population are illiterate; in Italy 38 per cent. In the average South American country about 80 per cent. are illiterate, while after forty years the American Negro has only 44.5 per cent. of illiteracy to his debit. I have thus compared the progress of my race not with the highest civilized nations for the reason that, in passing judgment upon us, the world too often forgets that either consciously or otherwise, because of geographical or physical proximity to the American white man, we are being compared with the very highest civilization that exists.

Having seen that the American Negro takes advantage of every opportunity to secure an education, I think it will surprise some to learn to what an extent the race contributes toward its own education and works in sympathetic touch with the whites at the South. In emphasizing this fact I use the testimony of the best Southern white men. Says the State Superintendent of Education of Florida in one of his recent official reports: "The following figures are given to show that the education of the Negroes of Middle Florida (the Black Belt of Florida) does not cost the white people of that section one cent." In those eight Black

Belt counties the total cost of the Negro schools is $19,457. The total contributed by the Negro in direct and indirect taxes amounted to $23,984, thus leaving a difference of $4,527 which, according to the superintendent, went into white schools. In Mississippi for the year ending in 1899, according to an eminent authority, the Negroes had expended on their schools about 20 per cent. of the total school fund, or a total of about $250,000. During the same year they paid toward their own education in poll taxes, state, county and city taxes, and indirect taxes, about $280,000, or a surplus of about $30,000. So that, looked at from any point of view, it would seem that the Negroes in that state are in a large measure paying for their own education.

But all this has little to do with my main purpose, and that is o emphasize the fact that with all the Negro is doing for himself, with all the white people in the South are doing for themselves, and despite all that one race is doing to help the other, the present opportunities for education are woefully inadequate for both races. In the year 1877-78 the total expenditure for education in the ex-Slave states was a beggarly $2.61 per capita for whites and only $1.09 for blacks; on the same basis the United States Commissioner of Education reasons that for the year 1900-01, $35,400,000 were spent for the education of both races in the South, of which $6,000,000 went to Negroes, or $4.92 per capita for whites and $2.21 for blacks; on the same basis, each child in Massachusetts has spent upon his education $22.35 and each one in New York $20.53, yearly.

From both a moral and religious point of view, what measure of education the Negro has received has paid, and there has been no step backward in any state. Not a single graduate of the Hampton Institute or of the Tuskegee Institute can be found today in any jail or state penitentiary. After making careful inquiry I cannot find a half dozen cases of a man or woman who has completed a full course of education in any of our reputable institutions like Hampton, Tuskegee, Fisk or Atlanta who are in prisons. The records of the South show that 90 per cent. of the colored people in prisons are without knowledge of trades, and 61 per cent. are illiterate. This statement alone disproves the assertion that the Negro grows in crime as education increases. If the Negro at the North is more criminal than his brother at

the South, it is because the North withholds from him the opportunity for employment which the South gives. It is not the educated Negro who has been guilty of or even charged with crime in the South; it is, as a rule, the one who has a mere smattering of education or is in total ignorance. While the Negro may succeed in getting into the state prison faster, the white man in some inexplainable manner has a way of getting out faster than the Negro. To illustrate: the official records of Virginia for a year show that one out of every three and one-half white men were freed from prison by executive clemency, and that only one out of every fourteen Negroes received such clemency. In Louisiana it is one to every four and one-half white men and one to every forty-nine Negroes. So that when this feature is considered matters are pretty well evened up between the races.

As bearing further upon the tendency of education to improve the morals of the Negro and therefore to prolong his life, no one will accuse the average New York insurance company of being guided by mere sentiment toward the Negro in placing its risks; with the insurance company it is a question of cold business. A few months ago the chief medical examiner for the largest industrial insurance company in America stated that after twenty years' experience and observation his company had found that the Negro who was intelligent, who worked regularly at a trade or some industry and owned his home was as safe an insurance risk as a white man in the same station in life.

Not long ago a Southern white man residing in the town of Tuskegee, who represents one of the largest and most wealthy accident and casualty companies in New York, wrote to his company to the effect that while he knew his company refused to insure the ordinary, ignorant colored man, at the Tuskegee Institute there were some 150 officers and instructors who were persons of education and skill, with property and character, and that he, a Southern white man, advised that they be insured on the same terms as other races, and within a week the answer came back: "Insure without hesitation every Negro on the Tuskegee Institute grounds of the type you name." The fact is that almost every insurance company is now seeking the business of the educated Negro. If education increased the risk, they

would seek the ignorant Negro rather than the educated one. As bearing further upon the effect of education upon the morals of the Negro during the last forty years, let us go into the heart of the Black Belt of Mississippi and inquire of Alfred Holt Stone, a large and intelligent cotton planter, as to the progress of the race. Mr. Stone says: "The last census shows that the Negro constitutes 87.6 per cent. of the population of the Yazoo-Mississippi delta. Yet we hear of no black incubus; we have had few midnight assassinations, and fewer lynchings. The violation by a Negro of the person of a white woman is with us an unknown crime; nowhere else is the line marking the social separation of the two races more rigidly drawn; nowhere are the relations between the two more kindly. With us race riots are unknown, and we have but one Negro problem—though that constantly confronts us—how to secure more Negroes."

There are few higher authorities on the progress of the Negro than Joel Chandler Harris, of the Atlanta *Constitution,* of "Uncle Remus" fame. Mr. Harris had opportunity to know the Negro before the war, and he has followed his progress closely in freedom. In a printed statement two weeks ago Mr. Harris says:

"In spite of all, however, the condition of the Negro has been growing better." * * *

"We cannot fairly judge a race, or a country, or a religious institution, or a social organization, or society itself, nay, not the republic in which we take pride, unless we measure it by the standard set up by the men who are its best representatives.

"We are in such a furious hurry. We are placed in a position of expecting a race but a few years from inevitable ignorance, imposed on it by the conditions of slavery, to make the most remarkable progress that the world has ever heard of, and when we discover that in the nature of things this is impossible, we shake our heads sadly and are ready to lose heart and hope.

"The point I desire to make is that the overwhelming majority of the Negroes in all parts of the South, especially in the agricultural regions, are leading sober and industrious lives. A temperate race is bound to be industrious, and the Negroes are temperate when compared with the whites. Even in the towns the majority of them are sober and industrious. The idle and

criminal classes among them make a great show in the police court records, but right here in Atlanta the respectable and decent Negroes far outnumber those who are on the lists of the police as old or new offenders. I am bound to conclude from what I see all about me, and from what I know of the race elsewhere, that the Negro, notwithstanding the late start he has made in civilization and enlightenment, is capable of making himself a useful member in the communities in which he lives and moves, and that he is becoming more and more desirous of conforming to all the laws that have been enacted for the protection of society."

In connection with this testimony from Joel Chandler Harris, may I add, no one has a right to pass final judgment upon the moral status of a race unless he has visited the homes, the intellectual gatherings, the schools and churches, where he can observe something of the higher life of that people. Our moral progress must not be judged by the man on the street. You may not know it, but the moral lines are beginning to be as strictly drawn in my race as in yours, and it must not be forgotten that we are as proud of our race as you are of yours, and that the more progress we make in education the more satisfaction do we find in our own homes and social circles.

We are to live in the South, and sympathy between the races is vital, and we must convince the Southern white people of the value of educating the Negro, and this we are doing according to the testimony of Southern people themselves.

Some time ago I sent out letters to representative Southern men, covering each ex-slave state, asking them, judging by their observation in their own communities, what effect education had upon the Negro. To these questions I received 136 replies as follows:

1. Has education made the Negro a more useful citizen?

Answer—Yes, 121; no, 4; unanswered, 11.

2. Has it made him more economical and more inclined to acquire wealth?

Answer—Yes, 98; no, 14; unanswered, 24.

3. Does it make him a more valuable workman, especially where skill and thought are required?

Answer—Yes, 132; no, 2; unanswered, 2.

4. Do well trained, skilled Negro workmen find any difficulty in securing work in your community?

Answer—No, 117; yes, 4; unanswered, 15.

5. Are colored men in business patronized by the whites in your community?

Answer—Yes, 92; no, 9; unanswered, 35. (The large number of cases in which this question was not answered is due to scarcity of business men.)

6. Is there any opposition to the colored people's buying land in your community?

Answer—No, 128; yes, 3; unanswered, 5.

7. Has education improved the morals of the black race?

Answer—Yes, 97; no, 20; unanswered, 19.

8. Has it made his religion less emotional and more practical?

Answer—Yes, 101; no, 16; unanswered, 19.

9. Is it, as a rule, the ignorant or the educated who commit crime?

Answer—Ignorant, 115; educated, 3; unanswered, 17.

10. Does crime grow less as education increases among the colored people?

Answer—Yes, 102; no, 19; unanswered, 15.

11. Is the moral growth of the Negro equal to his mental growth?

Answer—Yes, 55; no, 46; unanswered, 35.

But it has been said that the Negro proves economically valueless in proportion as he is educated. Let us see. All will agree that the Negro in Virginia, for example, began life forty years ago in complete poverty, scarcely owning clothing or a day's food. Right here I lay emphasis upon conditions in Virginia for the reason that the Hampton Institute, whose claims we are considering, is located in that state, and is the oldest and most widely known of all our schools. From an economic point of view, what has been accomplished for Virginia alone largely through the example and work of the graduates of Hampton and other large schools in that state? The reports of the State

Auditor show that the Negro today owns at least one-twenty-sixth of the total real estate in that Commonwealth, exclusive of his holdings in towns and cities, and that in the counties east of the Blue Ridge Mountains he owns one-sixteenth. In Middlesex County he owns one-sixth; in Hanover one-fourth. In Georgia the official records show that, largely through the influence of educated men and women from Atlanta schools and others, the Negroes added last year $1,526,000 to their taxable property, making the total amount upon which they pay taxes in that state alone $16,700,000. From nothing to $16,000,000 in one state in forty years does not seem to prove that education is hurting the race very much. Relative progress has taken place in Alabama and other Southern States. Every man or woman who graduates from the Hampton or Tuskegee institutes, who has become intelligent and skilled in any of the industries of the South, is not only in demand at an increased salary, on the part of my race, but there is equal demand from the white race. One of the largest manufacturing concerns in Birmingham, Alabama, keeps a standing order at the Tuskegee Institute to the effect that it will employ every man who graduates from our foundry department. When the South had a wholly ignorant and wholly slave Negro population she produced about 4,000,000 bales of cotton; now she has a wholly free and partly educated Negro population and the South produces nearly 10,000,000 bales of cotton, besides more food products than were ever grown in its history. In the making of these statements it should not be overlooked that it is not the Negro alone who produces cotton, but it is his labor that produces most of it. And while he may pay a small direct tax, his labor makes it mighty convenient for others to pay direct taxes.

Judged purely from an economic or industrial standpoint, the education of the Negro is paying, and will pay more largely in the future in proportion as educational opportunities are increased. A careful examination shows that of the men and women trained at the Hampton and Tuskegee schools not 10 per cent. can be found in idleness at any season of the year. They have learned the beauty of work; the disgrace of idleness. But my real object, I beg to repeat, is not to enter into a controversy on this or that point of the progress of the race,

but to emphasize the fact that, with all the Negro is doing to help himself, with all that the Southern white people are doing, that the opportunities for education for my race are inadequate almost beyond description, and the same may be said of the poor white people in certain sections of the South.

Years ago someone asked an eminent clergyman in Boston if Christianity is a failure. The reverend doctor replied that it had never been tried. When people are bold enough to suggest that the education of the Negro is a failure, I reply that it has never been tried. The fact is that 44.5 per cent. of the colored people in this country today are illiterate. A very large proportion of those classed as educated have the merest smattering of knowledge, which means practically no education. Can the Negro child get an education in school four months and out of school eight months? Can the white child of the South, who receives $4.92 per capita for education, or the black child, who receives $2.21, be said to be given an equal chance in the battle of life, or has education been tried on them? The official records in Louisiana, for instance, show that less than one-fourth of the Negro children of school age attend any school during the year. This one-fourth was in school for a period of less than five months, and each Negro child of school age in the state had spent on him for education last year but $1.89, while each child of school age in the State of New York had spent on him $20.53. In the former slave states 90 per cent. of the Negro children of school age did not attend school for six months during the year 1900.

I would seek to convince you that wherever the race is given an opportunity for education it takes advantage of that opportunity, and that the change can be seen in the improved material, educational, moral and religious condition of the masses. Contrast two townships, one in Louisiana, where the race has had little chance, with one in Farmville, Virginia, says the United States Bulletin of the Department of Labor. In the Louisiana township only 10 per cent. attend school, and they attend for but four months in a year, and 71 per cent. of the people are illiterate. And as a result of this ignorance and neglect we find only 50 per cent. of the people living together as man and wife are legally married. Largely through the leader-

ship of Hampton graduates, 56 per cent. of the black children in Farmville, Virginia, attend either public or private school from six to eight months. There is only 39 per cent. of illiteracy. Practically all the people living together as man and wife are legally married, and in the whole community only 15 per cent. of the births are illegitimate.

But the vital point which I want to emphasize is the disposition of the Negro to exercise self help in the building up of his own schools in connection with the State public school system. Wherever we send out from Hampton, Tuskegee or any of our Southern colleges a Negro leader of proper character, he shows the people in most cases how to extend the school term beyond the few months provided for by the State. Out of their poverty the Southern States are making a tremendous effort to extend and improve the school term each year, but while this improvement is taking place the Negro leaders of the character to which I have referred must be depended upon largely to keep alive the spark of education. But when all this has been said, the question as to the elevation of the black man goes deeper than the interests of the Hampton Institute, deeper than the interests of a single race, deeper than the interests of the South. In the last analysis it means that we shall have in this country either a democratic form of government or a mere sham and semblance of the same.

It now seems settled that the great body of our people are to reside for all time in the southern portion of the United States. Since this is true there is no more helpful and patriotic service than to help cement a friendship between the two races that shall be manly, honorable and permanent. In this work of molding and guiding a public sentiment that shall forever maintain peace and good will between the races on terms commendable to each, it is on the Negro who comes out of our universities, colleges and industrial schools that we must largely depend. Few people realize how, under the most difficult and trying circumstances, during the last forty years, it has been the educated Negro who counseled patience, self control, and thus averted a war of races. Every Negro going out from our institutions properly educated becomes a link in the chain that shall forever bind the two races together in all the essentials of life.

Finally, reduced to its last analysis, there are but two questions that constitute the problem of this country so far as the black and white races are concerned. The answer to the one rests with my people, the other with the white race. For my race one of its dangers is that it may grow impatient and feel that it can get upon its feet by artificial and superficial efforts rather than by the slower but surer process, which means one step at a time through all the constructive grades of industrial, mental, moral and social development which all races have had to follow which have become independent and strong. I would counsel: We must be sure that we shall make our greatest progress by keeping our feet on the earth, and by remembering that an inch of progress is worth a yard of complaint. For the white race the danger is that in its prosperity and power it may forget the claims of a weaker people, may forget that a strong race, like an individual, should put its hand upon its heart and ask if it were placed in similar circumstances how it would like the world to treat it; that the stronger race may forget that in proportion as it lifts up the poorest and weakest, even by a hair's breadth, it strengthens and ennobles itself.

All the Negro asks is that the door which rewards industry, thrift, intelligence and character be left as wide open for him as for the foreigner who constantly comes to our country. More than this he has no right to request. Less than this a republic has no right to withhold.

Neither must the nation grow impatient and faithless. It must remember that during the last forty years the South has been passing through a tremendous industrial and social crisis. This is true of the white race, equally true of the black race. The change from slavery to freedom could not be accomplished without mistakes on both sides, without each race going to extremes. Time, the great leveler, will exercise a modifying, a sobering influence upon all concerned, and in all proper directions.

With all his faults the Negro rarely betrays a trust or manifests a spirit of ingratitude. Whenever he has been called upon to render service in behalf of his state or nation such service has been ungrudgingly given. Further—whether in ignorance

or in intelligence, whether in slavery or in freedom—the Negro has always been true to the Stars and Stripes and the best interests of the nation, and no black skinned citizen has ever lifted his hand to strike down the Chief Magistrate of the nation or raised the red flag of anarchy. For every dollar that is put into our education by the North or South through such agencies as the Hampton Institute the race will more than repay by a life of industry, intelligence, high Christian character, and in helpful friendship between the races; and because of our elevation it shall be said of the South: "The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad, and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose."

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